2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the */naras* and *tsamma* are preferred most of all, on account of both the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable part of the year almost exclusively on the */naras*, and hence are often known by the tribal name of */Naranin*.

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism.

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *sakos*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be menstruating, and would thus contaminate any men associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Naman the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives.

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men

[1] Op. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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852 source of water. It seems also that the mother is ceremonially reintroduced to water in the same way as in the remarriage ceremony, except that here it is the older women who have looked after her during her confinement who free her from all her restrictions.[1]

844 Kolb's description of the birth customs among the Cape Hottentots
• 184 agrees in the main with that given above for the Naman, but contains a few additional details.[2] When the time for delivery is at hand, the patient is assisted by two or three of her near female relatives, as well as by the midwife of the kraal, who is specially summoned. As soon as the latter enters the hut the husband must leave it, and may not enter
[783] again until the birth is over. Should he do so, he becomes "unclean", and must purify himself by slaughtering a sheep for a special cleansing meal in which the other men of the kraal take part.

845 If the birth goes easily, all is well. When, however, it is unusually
757 protracted, the women make a decoction of finely cut tobacco and cow's milk, or, where the latter is not available, sheep's milk; strain it, and allow the milk to cool. It is then handed to the patient to drink, in the belief that it will increase the pain and thus lead to a speedy delivery, or else cause strong vomiting which at the same time expels
847 the child. The new-born baby may not be cleaned with water, which they say is "unhealthy". Instead it is rubbed all over with moist cowdung; when this has dried and fallen off, the baby is washed in
[828] the juice of the Hottentot fig (*Mesembrianthemum edule*), which will make it nimble and feet of iron; then smeared all over with freshly-melted sheep fat or butter, and finally powdered with *buchu*.

The afterbirth is buried in a hole in the ground, together with the blood flowing from the woman. This is all collected on the skin upon which she has lain from the beginning, and on which she must continue to lie as long as the blood flows from her. When the flow ceases, and the woman can or may arise, the skin is wrapped up together with the blood, etc., upon it, and is buried, so that no sorcerer may get at it and use it to work evil magic. The umbilical cord is
846 bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; there is no mention of any special usage connected with it.

Before meeting again after the birth, husband and wife must both rub their bodies down anew with cowdung, smear themselves with

[1] Hoernlé, "The Social Value of Water among the Naman," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 519, 525–6.

[2] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 62–3; cf. Commans, "Bilder aus der sexuellen Ethnologie der Hottentotten," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, vii, 304–6; Grevenbroeck, "Uit den Oosten Tijd," 1–2 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be */khai /aa*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai /aa*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are confined to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *umbrumachon* in which

[1] Ibid., 190. [2] "The Nama," 136. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., I, 172.

4: Hoernlé E-S (1912-1913)1925
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son. In the feminine form, */Uis*, it applies to the wife's mother and the son's wife when a man is speaking. It applies to the husband's mother, the son's wife, the husband's sister, and the brother's wife when a woman is speaking. 601

The husbands of two sisters call each other */Gámireb* or */Gámeb*. The wives of two brothers call each other */Gámes*.

/Ouras is a term sometimes used for the son's wife when a man is speaking. It is a general term applied to women who have married into the silt.

Practically all the old regulations with regard to marriage have broken down among the Hottentots. Marriage with any first cousin is now permitted, though on the other hand the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross cousins. There is a difference here from tribe to tribe, some of them being more influenced by European contacts than others but the tendency in all is the same. All my older informants are agreed that the marriage of direct cousins was out of the question in the old days. With regard to the cross cousins there is some difference between the tribes. In some of them, e.g., the *//Hakobon*, the *Gei //Khauan*, the *//Khu /Goan*, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the father's sister's daughter. The terminology for these relatives seems however to show that in the past marriage with both the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter was allowed, and the behavior towards these relatives confirms this. In addition, I have illustrations of both kinds of cross cousin marriage in genealogies. 582 177 184

The duties and privileges of relatives. The chief consideration in the behavior of Nama to one another is the relative ages of the people concerned. Respect for age is inculcated in every possible way, and the whole social organization of the people is an illustration of the fact. In the family deference and respect must always be paid to elders. Thus, of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honored place and the first voice in any debate. Family feeling is strong, however, and brothers generally hold together. The behavior proper to brothers is due to all those people called by the name "brother," and little difference is made by the fact 602 [731]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Further, as regards the manners, food, clothing, weapons, languages, government and religion of these tribes in general, they are as follows. But it should be noted that everything we are going to describe must be taken as referring especially to the Hottentots close to the Cape, i.e. the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas or Saldanhars, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hossaas; since, owing to the remoteness of the other, more inland, Hottentots, like the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudys and Hankumquas, we have so far received little report of them other than what has already been related in connexion with each. Nevertheless, as far as our countrymen could judge from hearsay and investigation, they agree in almost every respect with the Hottentots living nearest to the Cape.

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Dress of the Kaffirs or Hottentots.

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In build and shape of the body the Hottentots, such as the Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas and Gorachouquas (Watermen, Capemen and Tobacco Thieves) living at and near the Cape, are on the average people of medium stature, but slender, with ill-formed bodies and insignificant appearance, and yellowish in colour, like mulattos or yellowish Javanese. But those round Visesch Bay[*]) are somewhat smaller than people here at home, and brownish-red in colour, although to a varying extent.

The hair on the head is, among all those at the Cape, short and curly, like the wool of lambs, but thicker in the women than in the men, especially among the Kobona women. The forehead is reasonably broad, but wrinkled; the eyes beautifully black, and as clear and pure as those of the hawk. But men, women and children all have flattened noses, more marked in some than in others; and in addition their lips are almost always thick, especially the upper, which is turned up and out. The mouth is well shaped and of normal size and proportions, with teeth beautifully clean and white, like ivory, and hard, so that the bite is firm.

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*) Visesch Bay (Fleish Bay), close to the mouth of the Groutte River, near Mossel Bay, was so named by the Dutch in 1601 because here they bought a large quantity of cattle and sheep from the natives in exchange for iron (Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, I. 7).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Clothing of the Men.

The clothing of the Kafirs or Hottentots is singularly sordid and mean, and of little interest. Most of the men have only a sheep's fleece or sealskin or rock-rabbit hide, or the skin of some other animal, rounded below in the shape of a cloak. This is tucked over the shoulders, covering the upper and lower parts of the body down to the buttocks, and is fastened under the chin. The furry or hairy side is commonly turned either outwards or inwards. A cloak of this kind consists of three portions, cleverly stitched together with animal sinews instead of thread (just as instead of steel or iron needles they use a hard and sharp little thorn, with which they can manage very well in the absence of steel). The Heunoquas go about dressed somewhat differently from the Hottentots at the Cape; their little skin cloaks are full of leather strips sewn on and dangling down.

Apart from this, their customary garment, they wear on journeys still another sheepskin, which hangs with its woolly side outwards over the skin already mentioned.

The head is covered with a cap made from the skin of a young lamb, with the hairy side turned in, and with a little pommel on top. They put this on at night or when it rains. Their shoes consist of quite flat and uniformly level patches of tough rhinoceros hide, which cannot be worn out, fastened to the ridge of the foot by two leather cross-strips, and at the back by a heel-band, similar to that worn by the Capuchin friars. The genitals are covered over with a tiny bit of wild lamb cat, spotted leopard or jackal skin, fastened at the back with two little dangling riems.

Clothing of the Women.

The clothing of the women is also a cloak, usually of sheep skin, which is worn over the upper part of the body, with the woolly surface inwards, and is somewhat longer than that of the men. In addition, they have another skin tied round the lower part of the body, to cover the naked buttocks, and a small rectangular bit of skin in front of the pudenda. On the head they also wear a fairly high and wide cap, made from the skin of a sheep, rock-rabbit or seal. They tie this to the head with a broad strip of

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Translation :

Ao was born at Saron (*/Aboub*) in the year of the great snow. The snow covered all the huts. At that time the huts were made of mats. The mats were made of rush. The women collected the rushes in the river.

Note :

The Links returned to Saron in 1875 (See " History of the Links tribe."). In 1876 there was an abnormal fall of snow. The Government Land-Surveyor, A. C. Bailie, leaving on a Government mission for the North, writes : " On the evening of the 23rd June 1876, I started my waggon (from Kimberley) . . . . . On arriving at Barkly West, about eighteen miles from here, I found my waggon stuck on account of the snow " (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2220-79 p. 74). He had been already delayed in Kimberley for the same reason (*ibid*, p. 47). Therefore *Ao* was born in 1876. She further told me and this was corroborated by *Tsâub* and *Khoi*, that they were still living in rush-mat huts at the end of the Anglo-Boer war (1902).

Funeral of a Chief.

gamaub te !nuse o, ina !kobab !nuse-ina /khaib dibse, ina hoibese !nuse, ina /kurub !aubse, ina /khe: //o-b tjiwanni na namis, ina //se ba //gaisis, ina !nai /kurubo //ida ka²amme, ina /ha ba tiurse.

Translation :

If a chief is buried, he is buried in a grave. A chamber is made for him. Twigs are strewn. Then a mat is spread out. Then the dead body is wrapped up in a kaross. Then it is laid down. Then it is closed up with another mat. Then earth is thrown (over him).

Note :

My informants were *Tsâub* and *Ao*. We had been talking about the grave of Johannes Links at Saron, which we had recently visited. *Tsâub* told me he had seen the burial, and I asked him to give me a description of it. It surprised me that the old Hottentot practice of burying the body in a sitting posture was not mentioned. *Tsâub* denied this and here he is supported by a very accurate observer, Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 396

In plate 4, the grave of Johannes Links is seen marked by a heap of stones.

Terms of Relationship

The method used here was to procure from my informants genealogical lists (which follow later in these studies). Then the informants

[See II: Ruby, cat. 766 and plate 4. -Hunt/ref]

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversations with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that older person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not so full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (*op. cit.* p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Haarhoff (the Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (*op. cit.* pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (*op. cit.* p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kara, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tarakkwadi se /a-hoa /khaoa tsi kuib chikka khoa /hoa. //hoa ka ka hje ne /kè, doa /uri //hoa kaihoa ka, saub kaihai //ukkhoa ne /ure //ne e. /khaoadi kaihaoakhoa ne tukukkhoadi khoa, gaida khoakhoa chje chke. //gure /ukkhoa chke hje di toma, se /hoa kukje di hoa.

Translation :

The women dig for "ciesjes" with the hoard-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

harmonics of the string are powerfully produced. As I have gone very fully into the history of and methods of construction and performance upon this instrument in my paper "*The Gora and its Bantu Successors*," published in *Bantu Studies* Vol. V, no. 2, June 1931, it is unnecessary to say more about it here, except to emphasise that it appears to have belonged particularly to the Korana. But I would add the information obtained in December, 1931, by Professor Maingard, when Mahlakah, a Korana, who was in the Orange Free State, visited his friends at Bloemhof. When the name of the instrument was mentioned, all the Korana remembered it, but said that it was no longer played by them. Mahlakah, however, became wildly excited, jumped up, and applying his traveller's trick to his mouth, hummed a tune and sketched a few dance steps. Mahlakah is recognised as an expert on the instrument and can still play it. He added "You play it by yourself. It makes you forgetful of things, and you can be your own company." Plate VI shows Sele ki, a Kora who lives in the location at Schweizer Reneke, photographed at that place playing upon the instrument. [15]

The *ramki*, the guitar-like stringed instrument universally attributed to the Hottentots, is unknown to these Korana, and the principles involved in its construction are entirely foreign to their musical practice.

(d) Miscellaneous Instruments.

The only Korana instrument known to me which comes into this category is a form of bull-roarer, called *hara-be'*. It is made for and played only by young boys, and has lost any significance it may have had. It is interesting, however, in view of Balfour's suggestion that the bull-roarer may have had something to do with the origins of the gora. (Balfour: "*The Gourd*," p. 177). Among the Korana it is made of a flat oblong strip of wood about five and a half inches long, two inches wide and a quarter of an inch thick. The wood is thinned down somewhat towards the tip (the corners of which are slightly rounded), and also along the edges. A hole is bored at the thick end, a string threaded through it, and the ends of the string knotted together. The boy takes the loop of string in his right hand and whirls the bull-roarer round and round in the usual manner. Plate VII shows a Kora boy holding the instrument.

VOCAL MUSIC

A number of songs performed chiefly by old Dutch, the Mixed musicians, were recorded on the phonograph, and afterwards transcribed by me. The texts were secured by Professor Maingard who has kindly